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THE NATION

Civil rights bloc rallies for fight in new Congress

By Lawrence Emery

SEN. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY (D-Minn.) was notably silent when his party's convention in Chicago last August surrendered to the Dixiecrats by adopting a meaningless civil rights plank. Last week he announced he would lead a fight to end filibustering in the Senate when Congress convenes on Jan. 3. Humphrey was spokesman for a group of Northern Democrats consisting of Sens. Paul H. Douglas (Ill.), Wayne Morse (Ore.), James E. Murray (Mont.), Pat McNamara (Mich.) and Richard L. Neuberger (Ore.).

The group also offered a "Democratic Declaration of 1957" which was a digest of 16 planks in the Democrats' platform which Humphrey called "a minimum program of liberal Democratic action" in the coming session. The threatened filibuster action and the program itself ran into the immediate opposition of Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.) who announced on Nov. 28 that he will fight the move.

GROWING CLEAVAGE: Earlier Johnson had declared that the Democrats will not offer their own program for domestic legislation in this session, but will wait for President Eisenhower's recommendations and then "evaluate them as reasonable men in the light of what is good for America."

The Northerners' declaration seemed to indicate a growing split between Congressional "liberals" and "moderates" but there was little possibility that the "liberals" could prevail over the overwhelmingly Dixiecrat-conservative composition of their party's representation in both houses.

On Nov. 26 Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel (R-Calif.) and Sen.-elect Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.) declared their support of the anti-filibuster move, but Johnson's opposition to it and other obstacles made it unlikely that Senate Rule 22 will be changed in this session. Under that rule, Senate debate can be limited only by a two-thirds vote of all 96 Senators. It is this device that Southerners depend upon to talk to death all civil rights legislation.

BY A MAJORITY: The Humphrey group would revise this to permit limitation by a simple majority vote. But even before they can get that motion on the floor they will face an all-out filibuster which they can win only by keeping the Senate in continuous session until the opposition orators are exhausted. (This is so because Rule 22 does not apply to a motion to bring up a rules change and there is no parliamentary way to choke off such a debate.)

Without the support of the majority and minority leaders, it is next to impossible to keep the Senate in continuous session. But even if the Humphrey forces won that filibuster, they would promptly face another one against the resolution itself. The second filibuster could be ended only by the present requirement of a two-thirds vote. Only then could a vote be taken on the rules change itself.

WHERE WERE THEY? Many took a dim view of Sen. Humphrey as the leader of this crusade. New York City's Negro Councilman Earl Brown wrote in the Dec. 1 **Amsterdam News:**

"While Sen. Humphrey and his noble Northern colleagues should be complimented for their avowed intentions of slaying the filibuster monster, what I'd like to know is, where were they last winter and spring when their fellow Southern Senators . . . were thumbing their nasty noses at the Supreme Court and signing manifestos against its rights and powers?

"Where were they when civil rights were literally assassinated at the Democratic Natl. Convention last August in Chicago? Where were they that Wednesday night at the convention when the stinkingly weak civil rights plank was put over—a plank which even omitted any-

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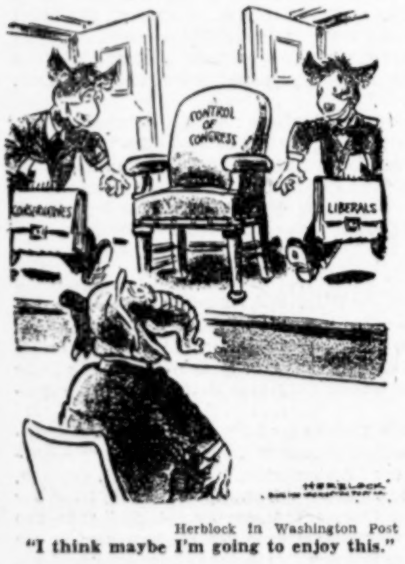

Herblock in Washington Post
"I think maybe I'm going to enjoy this."

The international police arrive in Port Said
The first UN troops (Norwegians) in the battered Suez port city got a tumultuous reception from the Egyptians who had been sullenly refusing to cooperate with the Anglo-French forces of occupation. The British commander was so upset that he personally roughed up a welcomer.

THEY'LL PULL TROOPS OUT

Britain & France concede defeat on Suez adventure

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

THE UNITED NATIONS last week marked time on Egypt, pending further reports from Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold. There were, however, charges and counter-charges by Israel against Egypt and by Egypt against Britain, France and Israel. There also were ominous signs of a possible new explosion in Syria and Iraq.

By Dec. 1 nearly 1,500 UN Emergency Force troops had arrived in Egypt, taking over parts of the territory occupied by the Anglo-French forces. Troops had come from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Colombia, Canada, India and Yugoslavia; others were coming from Indonesia.

Before a Parliament in London with gloomy Conservatives and derisive Labourites, and a silent National Assembly in Paris, the British and French Foreign Ministers admitted defeat in their Suez adventure by agreeing to begin evacuating their troops by mid-December. They still insisted, however, that UN forces must start clearing the canal immediately and also assume responsibility for assuring free canal traffic. Therefore, it remained uncertain when the Anglo-French troop withdrawal would be completed.

(Continued on Page 4)

CHANGES IN SOCIALIST STATES PROCEED TOO

Hungarian turmoil goes on

THE OFFICIAL HUNGARIAN newspaper **Népszabadság** last week said: "Our factories cannot work because they have no fuel. Emergency supplies and raw materials are waiting at our frontiers but cannot be transported because the railway men are on strike. Workers have to go for miles on foot because street cars and trains are not running. It is painful but true that the majority of the people do not believe our promises."

The newspaper, like the Budapest radio, made no effort to conceal the grim threat of winter with little fuel for home or factory, with transport frozen and a people seemingly shattered and leaderless, unwilling to believe.

The return of workers to factories was almost academic since few plants could run without fuel. Soviet troops kept an uneasy quiet in the country, with here and there demonstrations and reports of guerilla warfare. Francis Feijto, writing in the Paris **L'Observateur,** said the representatives of the workers councils, in fitful negotiations with Premier János Kádár, were torn between a desire to avoid economic catastrophe and the fear that if the country is stabilized before Soviet troops withdraw they may never withdraw. Their formal demands have called for: (1) the return to the government, if not to the premiership, of Imre Nagy, reportedly held in Rumania; (2) the withdrawal of Soviet troops; (3) a political system allowing others than the Communist Party to participate; (4) free elections and the proclamation of Hungarian neutrality.

INSIDE AND OUTSIDE: Istvan Bibo, a member of Nagy's last cabinet, has come up with a compromise formula calling for the return of Nagy, a gradual withdrawal of Soviet forces and a general amnesty. By way of assuring the Soviet Union, he would rule out any proclamation of neutrality and all appeals to the UN, proposing instead a modification of the Warsaw Pact.

Kadar is not the target of these workers' delegations. Apparently he is still remembered as a hero who had his finger-nails

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Renew now with a pledge for '57

CAN YOU HELP?
RJ

The GUARDIAN needs your sub renewal with extra help if you can offer it. Your pledge NOW of $1 a month throughout 1957 automatically renews your sub and assures needed help over the rough spots. Pitch in the easy way!

☐ Here's my Buck of the Month pledge to the Guardian Sustaining Fund for fiscal '57. I understand this covers my renewal.

or:

☐ $............ enclosed to cover my renewal ($3 a year).

● **Be sure to check your address-plate carefully for errors before enclosing. Indicate if you want paper wrapped. Mail to:**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

Thanks for Trumbo

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In these last months, made up of days (and nights—ghastly sleepless ones) of confused anguish and doubt, there have been those of us who have been desperately waiting for some calm, yet impassioned statement drawn up in words of profound simplicity about the meaning of our very existence as members of the human race, of the Left and the American nation. Apparently, judging from the published text, Dalton Trumbo has supplied a large introduction to that statement. Do thank him on behalf of this reader.

L.H.N.

Correction

MOLINE, ILL.

In a recent article dealing with cases reaching the Supreme Court on various phases of the witch-hunt, you mention U.A.W. organizer John T. Watkins ". . . who told the House Committee on Un-American Activities that he had been a Communist but refused to give names of other Communists. . ." I believe you will find this information to be in error because, having known Watkins personally and a member of the same unions (the old F.E.U.E. and now the U.A.W.) I have taken particular interest in his case. I believe you will find that he said he had not been a Communist but had cooperated in some activities with them.

Henry O'Brien

[Reader O'Brien is correct: the GUARDIAN erred. Watkins appearing before the House Un-American Activities Comm. in 1954, admitted he had "cooperated" with Communists but denied ever belonging to the Communist Party or accepting their discipline. —Ed.]

Dead end

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Once again the theory that American leftists must support the pro-war, Jim Crow, anti-Bill of Rights Democratic Party as a lesser evil has been proven completely bankrupt. Never did a candidate wearing the liberal label deserve a more resounding defeat than did Adlai Stevenson in the '56 presidential elections. It will take a long time for those radicals who advocated support for Stevenson to explain how they happened to find themselves on the side of the candidate who deplored the fact that the U.S. had split with its erstwhile allies Great Britain and France in their naked, imperialist attack on Egypt.

The labor and radical movement ran into a complete dead end in their all-out support of Stevenson and their campaign "to defeat the Cadillac cabinet." Continuation of such policies will lead to ever-increasing defeats and the paralysis of the radical movement. It is more evident than ever that if anything is to be accomplished in the future, the left must renounce the disastrous policy of the lesser evil and begin now the hard but rewarding work of building a genuine independent socialist party dedicated to peace, civil rights and civil liberties. Such a movement will not win immediate electoral victories but it will meet the need for a principled independent party which was so evident in the recent elections.

It is difficult to understand why the GUARDIAN does not take the lead in this movement. All the traditions of the GUARDIAN emphasize the fact that it was formed as an independent paper to support an independent party, the Progressive Party. It must be evident to the editors of the GUARDIAN, as it is to its readers, that the coalition theory of politics fostered by the Communist Party has been a disastrous failure and should renew the GUARDIAN's faith in an independent progressive political policy. We who have supported the GUARDIAN since 1948 in the belief that it represents genuine political independence, again call on its editors to make a complete and decisive break with the class-collaborationist policies of coalition and to take leadership in the regroupment of the Left which is now beginning to take shape.

Clifford T. McAvoy

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

For the convenience of our patrons the ELVIS PRESLEY BARBER SHOP will be open in our lobby at 1:00 p.m. Today. ELVIS PRESLEY HAIRCUTS ONLY!

Fox Theater ad, 10/21, Detroit **Free Press**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Mrs. C. Draper, Dearborn, Mich. Be sure to include original clipping and date of each entry.

Foreign intervention

BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND

I enjoy your paper and admire your presentation of the American scene (despite floundering during the recent elections). But you leave yourselves wide open to the charge of being a stalking-horse for Soviet imperialism. For instance, your account of the tragic events in Hungary records "anti-Semitic speeches" and actions. This comes ill from Russian apologists. Remember the Jewish doctors' plot when the victims are now admitted to have been murdered in cold blood?

You also report that "mobs looted bookshops and tossed CP books on bonfires." Yet all the correspondents agree that looting has been conspicuous in its absence. It is quite evident that the CP books were the object of the workers' hatred. And if they include Marxist classics, so much for the "education" of Gero and Co. Please do not forget that it was "undisciplined mobs" who made the 1917 Revolution. There is no reason why your loathing of Anglo-American imperialism should make you more Stalinist and less liberal than the New York **Daily Worker.**

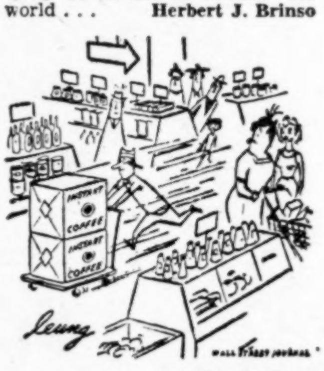
Peter Morgan

Numbers game

ALTADENA, CALIF.

I don't think I've read so much unmitigated baloney in the press (3d rate fiction that passes for objective reporting on Hungary) since the Finnish War. The story in the Los Angeles **Mirror** of an alleged 11-year-old girl tying 11 (not 10 or 12) grenades to her body and allegedly throwing herself in front of an alleged Russian tank takes the P-U-litzer prize. You'd think some enterprising U.S. war correspondent (44 years old with 44 drinks under his belt) could find an 11-year-old Egyptian girl (11 grenades plus one for good luck) throwing herself under British-French tanks. Or a Cypriot girl. Or an Algerian girl.

Or a 66-year-old U.S. general tying 66 H-Bombs around the world . . . **Herbert J. Brinso**



Wall Street Journal

Take a bow

NEW YORK, N.Y.

On behalf of the Families of the Smith Act Victims, I want to express our deep appreciation for the great help given by the readers of the GUARDIAN to our summer appeal. Thanks to your cooperation we were able to meet our summer needs of family trips to the prisons, prisoners' commissary, books, magazines and newspapers and brief vacations for the younger children of the prisoners.

We think you would be heartened, as we were, by the wide-ranging response to our appeal—literally from Maine to California and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf and even beyond—as well as the many warm messages.

Now that the Supreme Court has taken the Smith Act under review, we begin to hope that at long last Smith Act prosecutions will come to an end and our prisoners be released. Until that happy time, however, we have a continuing responsibility, and it is good to know that we have so many friends to help us.

Dorothy Rose Blumberg,
Exec. Secy. Families of the Smith Act Victims
575 Av. of the Americas,
New York 11, N.Y.

Oregon needs help

PORTLAND, ORE.

There are still three contempt of Congress cases to be decided by the 9th Circuit Court as a result of the Velde House Un-American Committee's 1954 West Coast fishing expedition. They are: Herb Simpson, sentenced to 10 months and $250 fine; John MacKenzie, 10 months and $250 fine; and Don Wallam, one year and $250 fine. Herb Simpson's appeal was argued before the Appeals Court in San Francisco Nov. 16. The other two cases will come up later.

Needless to say, fighting these cases is mighty expensive business and were it not for the generosity of people that understand how vital to the civil liberties of all people the winning of these cases is, we could never have carried the fight this far. However, ours and other civil rights cases have just about drained this area of defense money. We are making this appeal to your readers for financial help. The need is urgent. All money should be sent to or checks made payable to me at 3154 E. Salmon St., Portland 15, Ore.

Mrs. Helen Cook, Sec'y.
Comm. for Constitutional Rights

Modern Mother Goose

Old Mother Hubbard went to the cupboard
To find her poor dog a bone.
When she got there, the cupboard was bare
For cancer had eaten the bone.

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REPORT TO READERS

Holiday hints

DR. DuBOIS DROPPED IN Friday, Nov. 30, to autograph the first stacks of the new edition of his monumental 746-page work, **Black Reconstruction in America,** for Guardian Buying Service customers. (He autographs left-handed, by the way.)

First over-the-counter customer (in too great a hurry to wait for an autographed volume) was a high school student researching for a term paper on the Reconstruction Era. Seemed hopeful of delivering a big charge when the papers are read, with the Good Doctor's authoritative yet studiously-avoided history to back him up.

While in the office, Dr. DuBois had good words for Anna Louise Strong's new $1 book, **The Stalin Era,** (also a Buying Service offering): "Clear, concise . . . with a very good point to make." The autographed **Black Reconstruction** is already in the mails to some, and in good supply now for you and yours, at $5.50 postpaid ($1 below the jacket price of $6.50 for a limited period). We repeat our suggestion that you consider giving this book to your community library, where it may never land if you or like-minded others don't place it there. The same goes for the volume of Vito Marcantonio's debates, addresses and writings, **I Vote My Conscience,** $5 from the Marcantonio Memorial, 247 E. 116th St., New York 29, N.Y.

THE GUARDIAN OFFICE, by the way, is rather close by the great bargain shopping area of New York City, centered around 14th St. and 4th Ave. And for our money in that area, the shop to drop in on is Standard Brand Distributors, 4th Ave. at 13th St. Standard Brand Dist. should be well-known to GUARDIAN readers for its frequent "institutional" reprints of great documents of our heritage (there's one in this issue on p. 9 as a reminder of Bill of Rights Day, Dec. 15).

Just as seasonal, one of our shoppers reported this past week, is a big bin of Lionel electric train gadgetry over at Standard Brand at $1 a throw; plus of course bikes, perfumes, appliances, radio & TV, free matches that say JOE MUST GO; that fascinating long-playing recording of Manhattan street-scene conversation, also free; and, free for the asking while they last, copies of Dalton Trumbo's remarkable Smith Act pamphlet, **The Devil in the Book.** Also lively conversation on current issues.

BY THE TIME this issue of the GUARDIAN reaches the West Coast, our Embassy Auditorium meeting with Tabitha Petran and editor Jim Aronson Dec. 7 will be a morning-after breakfast table conversation matter thereabouts, and the two GUARDIAN travelers will be headed for San Francisco and their California Hall Auditorium meeting Dec. 14.

Miss Petran reached New York by air from Cairo Thursday afternoon, November 29, and hardly had time to adjust to U.S. time schedules before she was facing her first audience, in Chicago Fri. evening, Nov. 30, where a large and interested meeting turned out to hear her report. Successive dates in Detroit Tuesday, Dec. 4, and then the West Coast meetings left no time for an office get-together. So we expect you all to return Miss Petran to us in good shape in time for a family get-together at holiday time.

AND, SPEAKING OF THE HOLIDAY, this is just about the last opportunity to order and receive on time, your supply of the GUARDIAN's 1956-7 holiday greeting cards designed especially for us by Chittaprosad of India. With one recent re-order we got a note which said: "I made my husband return the cards he bought at the store because I think yours are the nicest and most original I've seen this year." Order blank on p. 12.

—THE GUARDIAN

A PEEK BEHIND THE CURTAIN

Age of Automation

By Elmer Bendiner

THE BRIGHT NEW automation age was introduced to New Yorkers last week with old fashioned cries of pitchmen and the lure of the Midway. The Third International Automation Exhibition filled five floors of the N.Y. Trade Show Building with gadgetry, spielmen and fetching young women to help sell the new era.

Outside one room an attractive girl buttonholed passersby with the old game of guessing how many radio tubes, of assorted sizes, were crammed into a giant tube. The prize: a portable radio that blared rock-and-roll into the ears of weary business executives.

The Bendix Co. engineers wore bright green aprons, like changemakers in a penny arcade. Their display resembled a streamlined bingo hall and posters called businessmen to play the new game: "Gambit." Two over-sized number cards were mounted on a table. A slim, smiling pert young girl passed out the "chips," large discs which read:

with the famous BENDIX G-15 general purpose computer

Play

GAMBIT*

* Game for
Automation
Minded
Bigwigs
Insensitive to
Treachery

GOOD FOR COASTERS: The automation-minded bigwigs took the chips, placed their bets on the numbered squares. The pretty young operator pressed a button. Behind her the mighty Bendix G-15 General Purpose Digital Computer buzzed and set rows of amber lights to flickering. The keys on the operator's automatic typewriter clattered like a player-piano and the young lady read the winning number. When bigwigs asked how they might cash in the chips they won, the miss smiled and said: "They're very good for coasters."

The mighty G-15 operated efficiently as a roulette wheel because engineers had "fed" into it the laws of probability and it was reeling off the numbers precisely according to Hoyle. The green-aproned Bendix engineers circulated among the "Gambit" players to explain G-15's other uses.

The G-15 is a lightning calculator with a fool-proof memory—a tireless mathematician and a staff of clerks, all impervious to hunger, hangovers, off-days and unionism. While it played at Gambit in the automation show, the G-15 is currently being used to solve intricate industrial problems such as calculating the flow of gas in cross-country pipelines, section by section, working out in 35 minutes problems that normally take an expert 75 hours.

WHAT'S THE NAME? International Business Machines had a similar brain at work, demonstrated more soberly. The visiting bigwig spelled his name to an attractive miss at a sleek typewriter keyboard. Out came a card with his name printed and punched on it in a pattern of holes. The card was inserted into a little gadget that looked like an old-fashioned adding machine. A man pressed a few buttons while the bigwig stepped on a scale. As the scale's hands whirled the room erupted in a clatter of teletype keys. Lights lit up on a giant console, tape machines whirred and at a remote corner a man plucked out of a gadget a neatly typed statement which included the bigwig's name, estimated weight, actual weight, the temperature in the room, the number of pounds weighed on the scale that day, the number of bigwigs, the precise time,—all before the bigwig had stepped from the scale. Furthermore, the whole mass of data was on tape, on file cards, in duplicate.

There was only one mistake: the bigwig's name was mis-spelled, but that was the fault of the pretty, young human element who began the process.

The point of the experiment was that the IBM Automatic Production Recording System could easily replace scores of checkers, could at any moment record the size, weight, volume, speed, flow of production anywhere. It is about to be installed in a utility plant to give a running story of the flow of gas from various feeder companies so that company bosses can manipulate it all swiftly without relying on meter readers.

AN EXPOSED REAR: Another chamber was presided over by the president of a company that makes the "building-blocks" of computers, flexible units which can be added together or rearranged to solve most of industry's problems. The rear end of the "brain" was exposed, its multi-colored wires looking like a mass of nerve-endings exposed in a bloodless anatomy lesson. Beside it a green oscilloscope screen showed pleasant running yellow lines which nobody looked at.

The president explained that his machine did not operate solely in mathematical terms. It was primarily a machine for precise logic and problems could be fed into it in ordinary English. Electric pulses racing through its green and yellow wires would trace all the relationships of the situation, the possibilities and probabilities, and write a decision, perhaps on a screen or in language on tape or in mathematical symbols. It could be used to translate into foreign languages almost anything but poetry.

The president of the logic machine sat back modestly and said: "People say these machines are brilliant but really the machine is a very stupid thing; it can only show people up."

THE OBSOLETE WORKER: The calculators and brains, with boxes neatly labeled "Memory", dominated the automation show. These were the fore-runners of automation, designed to mechanize management, at least at the second echelon level. It seemed to forecast that the machine's first major assault—already under way in some places—would render the white-collar worker and the foreman obsolete. Only the salesman and the forces of Madison Av. seemed impregnable.

EVERY TOT A TANTALIZING TOTALIZER

The new Burroughs "desk-size" brain gets a corny send-off

The exposition had little to show of the heavy-industry automation which, in its primitive stages in Detroit, is already producing more cars faster and with fewer hands than ever before. But the exhibit of the Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton Corp. offered a clue. A salesman-engineer pressed the numbered keys on an instrument board and explained that he was feeding in the precise specifications for steel tubing, tolerances for length, weight, etc., etc.

THAT HUMAN ELEMENT: A model of an inspection line for steel tubes next to the keyboard was set in motion. A tube automatically rolled onto a stand. It was automatically weighed and measured. If it failed to meet the specifications put into the machine, it would be dropped into a reject pile. If it passed, the data [illegible]m the weighing, measuring machine would be transmitted electrically to another machine poised above the tube. This would instantly cut a stencil with all the tube's measurements and an inking machine would neatly stamp the tube with its data.

(The process came to an embarassing hitch when the stencilling apparatus shivered and halted. Trouble-shooting engineers swarmed swiftly and discovered that the mighty apparatus' only fault was that a clumsy human element had kicked the electric plug out of its wall socket.)

The machine, called by the salesman-engineer the "Push-Button Inspection Line," is about to be installed in a new Indiana Harbor plant of Youngstown Sheet and Tube. It could replace perhaps as many as ten men on each shift.

ONLY SMALL FRY: On the walls the company exhibited photographs of "Major," its huge hydraulic press, 11 stories high, capable of exerting 106 million pounds of pressure, operated by one man. It is currently used in aircraft production, eliminating thousands of man-hours.

The president of the logic machine company speculated that the big new automation developers seemed to have ignored the show perhaps because they were not yet ready to unveil their wonders. These were the small fry, heralding the coming of giants. Possibly, too, it seemed pointless to exhibit gigantic machinery to the business world at large when only a handful of the biggest outfits could possibly buy them.

"Automation," said the scornful president of the logic machine, "is over-rated. People read about these things and think automation is here already. Why, it'll be two years before they begin to install some of these things."

PAY AS YOU GO: Two years seemed far too short a time in which to prepare a nation to face this monster proclaimed by the AARD Equipment Co. in its "pay-as-you-go automation" scheme:

"This device can revolve a 'hand' 360 degrees about its body. It can raise and lower the 'hand' within two-foot limits. The 'arm' can revolve about its axis and bend at the 'wrist' like a man's wrist action. It can reach for objects three feet from its body. It feeds die castings, stampings, etc., from one machine to another. The pattern of motions can quickly be completely changed by varying a guiding cam plate."

The Exposition's **Handbook** hailed "a new order . . . paving the way to the society characterized by minimized manual labor and maximized productivity."

In forthcoming issues The GUARDIAN will deal with some significant aspects of automation's threat and promise.

THE MAN WHO COULDN'T TEACH IN GLOUCESTER

The Warren McClure story—a happy ending

SCHOOL SUPT. L. Munro Grandy of Gloucester, Mass., signed a contract last summer with Warren G. McClure of Eugene, Ore., to come as a teacher to the New England fishing town. McClure is a specialist in the teaching of retarded children. He drove across the continent and arrived in Gloucester as the new school term began.

Supt. Grandy met McClure. He was shocked to find that the new teacher was a Negro in a town of 26,000 with no Negro students. After consulting colleagues on the school board, Grandy proposed cancellation of the contract and payment of $1,000. McClure reluctantly agreed and returned to Oregon.

It had been done so discreetly that the hushed speculation about racism went unheeded until Seafood Workers Union agent Manuel F. Lewis, a member of the City Council, demanded an investigation.

AN "IMMORAL" ACT: Once in the open, the story stirred a tumult. Councilman John Burke, ex-mayor of Gloucester, maintained that Supt. Grandy had insulted both McClure and the townspeople. Local ministers and rabbis denounced his act as "immoral." One board member was Dr. Harry Curtis, formerly of Louisiana, who had earlier tried to keep Count Basie's orchestra from fulfilling an engagement at Gloucester's high school. He and his board associates kept silent. But Grandy declared McClure's being a Negro had had nothing to do with the case. McClure commented:

"I had been led to believe that there was no segregation in Massachusetts. I found out otherwise. Grandy asked to be relieved of the contract. The only thing that he was willing to offer me was transportation back to the west coast."

END OF A STORY: Baltimore **Afro-American** columnist Clarence Mitchell last week wrote a postscript to the story. It was datelined Hartford, Conn.:

"In case you are wondering what happened to Warren G. McClure . . . Frank Simpson, executive secretary of the Conn. Civil Rights Commission, . . . told me that Schoolmaster McClure is now teaching in Southbury, Conn. The students there are happily absorbing the knowledge he is able to give them, because they are kept so busy, they do not have time to think about his race. Residents of Massachusetts who like to pride themselves on their advanced racial views should be thankful that Connecticut saved New England from total dishonor . . ."

Mitchell added that Negroes are teaching in the public schools of more than 50 Connecticut towns, one third of which have no Negro residents. "This means," he wrote, "that in many cases the teachers live in the homes of the white parents." The Scotland, Conn., high school principal is a Negro. Mitchell said: "This is one of the best schools, and the principal has earned a reputation for efficiency and fairness."

THE OILY DOLLAR BLUES

British Labour unity high as Suez divides nation

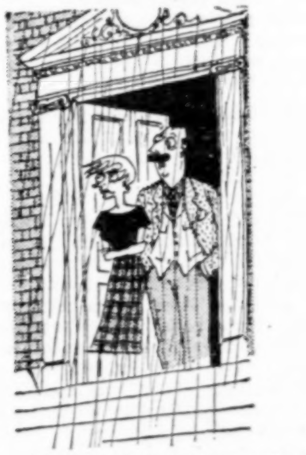
By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

A HUNDRED and eighty years after "the shot heard around the world," the Prime Minister of Britain waited in swimming trunks on a beach in Jamaica for a message which alone could save him from political collapse and oblivion: the smallest sign of affection from the President of the United States.

Muted calypso music drifted through the blossoming hibiscus, the beach was "sun-kissed coral", the sea "as warm as hotel bath-water", the "succulent" lobsters "prepared to perfection by the Governor's private chef" (**Daily Mirror**, 11/29). But the idyll was ruined by the silence from the man in the White House with whom Sir Anthony Eden had been trying to get an appointment since before the elections. The only word coming through was that Ike was showing above-average form on the golf course at Augusta, Ga., and a new attitude of friendliness toward the Arab and other Bandung countries.

A GRIM CHILL: From London the basking Premier learned that even Jordan, the Middle Eastern state set up as a virtual British puppet, had joined the hostile Arab camp; and that 130 Tory MP's, in the most serious party revolt since World War II, had broken out in a public rash of anti-Americanism. Of all the items on Britain's mounting economic and diplomatic bill for the Suez aggression, the chill it had laid on relations with the U. S. was the grimmest.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

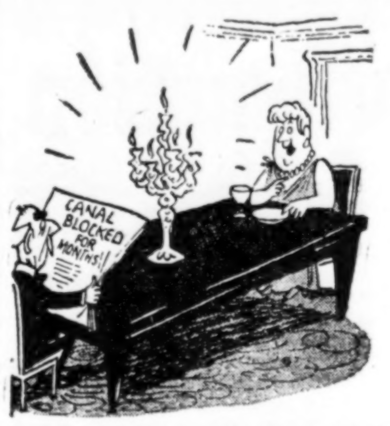
"But, darling, what else would you expect with a trough of low pressure over Iceland and Mr. Dulles over mid-Atlantic!"

At the MP's tabled their motion "deploring . . . the attitude of the U. S., which is gravely endangering the Atlantic Alliance", the English-Speaking Union's banquet in New York was reported as "enjoying itself through its gritted teeth" (**Manchester Guardian**, 11/28); and British right-wing newspapers bristled with surly headlines about Uncle Sam.

The **Sunday Express** had kicked off with a Tory MP's assertion that a "great wave" of anti-Americanism could easily be set off if Washington continued opposing the action in Egypt. (A "strong tide" of anti-U. S. feeling was simultaneously reported from France.) Other papers, probing deeper, insisted that the Tories had their own ineptitude in the Egypt adventure largely to blame. The **Times**, pointing to the "growing danger" of "a Britain united in anti-Americanism", said this would mean both a Britain and a U. S. headed for disaster and both needed to "re-assess" their foreign policies. The 130 Tories' motion was "itself to be deplored," and Foreign Secy. Lloyd's reference in the U. S. to the last time Britain "stood alone" was "disgraceful"; but equally it was time for Ike to realize "there is other work to be done in the Middle East besides ensuring the withdrawal of British and French troops."

OIL FOR DOLLARS: This, as students of the dialectic of history weren't slow to note, was precisely what Ike's advisers did realize: the work to be done was the further consolidation of U.S. oil interests in the Middle East at Britain's expense, and the opening Britain had given them by its aggression and defiance of UN was only too clear. British ruling class infuriation with the U.S. was really infuriation at the steady weakening of their own position in the always unequal partnership.

They glumly recalled that only a few weeks ago a Britain starving for dollars—but now starving for oil—had had to sell to U. S. interests its only Western Hemisphere oil holdings in Trinidad. The peak of futile exasperation was reached in complaints that while U. S. imperialists would not help pull British chestnuts out of the fire in Egypt, British imperialists had loyally backed the U. S. in Korea and Guatemala.


CANAL BLOCKED FOR MONTHS!

Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"By the way, dear, what became of Sir Anthony's canal USERS' association?"

AMMUNITION NEEDED: On the British political scene, the chill on Anglo-U. S. relations and the resultant widening of the split in Tory ranks put into Labour's hands its strongest weapon since Suez. It was a weapon of which full use would be made in the Middle East debate set for Dec. 5-6—a debate which, said Tory leader Butler after Lloyd made his "interim report" on returning from New York, was "unlikely" to be on the 130 Tories' motion.

The government, its supporters torn by dissension, was desperately short of ammunition to defend its adventure on any grounds. There was no comfort for them from Canada, which all recognize as the vital link in British-U.S. relations: Prime Minister St. Laurent had been bitterly critical in a speech about "supermen of Europe" who think they can "govern the world", and Foreign Minister Pearson had said that at one stage in the Suez adventure the Commonwealth was "on the verge of dissolution."

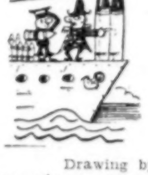
UNITED LABOUR: Yet Lloyd's "interim report" and replies to Labour foreign-policy spokesman Aneurin Bevan still carried no assurance that British troops would be withdrawn without conditions as to "international control" of Suez, and no repudiation of Tory leaders' statements that they would not be. Press scares about "Soviet penetration" of Syria, and playing down of reports of troop concentrations on Israel's borders with Syria and Jordan, suggested that Anglo-French incendiaries were still playing with dynamite in their maneuverings to save any prestige they had left.

The hopeful element in Britain was that the Labour Party was more united on sound principles than it had been for years. Bevan, brilliant but often wayward and capricious in smaller crises, had emerged at his statesmanlike best in this one and was working smoothly with his team. In the dramatic shift of forces, the mantle of Washington's favor seemed to have been transferred to Labour, and Tories were muttering darkly about U. S. Embassy "briefings" of Labour MP's to press charges of Anglo-French-Israeli "collusion." Only 30 Tories could be found to sign a motion calling on the government to strengthen bonds with the U. S. and NATO. Right-wing Labourites put down a motion appealing for "relations of mutual trust for the good of the whole democratic world." Left-wingers took an equally pro-U. S. line, pointing out that for whatever motives Washington's position was correct, but stressing that only an alliance based on equality was desirable. Some left-wingers expressed the hope that the new situation would make unity possible not only with U. S. imperialists but with those in the U. S. who genuinely want to work for peace.

THE BIG TEST: As the bleak winds of December blew into Britain, Labour faced the greatest test of its leadership. The people were divided and confused on the Suez issue and, largely on the basis of national cohesion in time of crisis, the government was still broadly supported. Sharpening opposition seemed inevitable in face of drastic oil rationing and further cost-of-living rises looming ahead, with thousands more workers going on short time and the first round of bids for higher wages flatly turned down.

Perhaps the cooling of affection for the U. S., when it is supporting UN as never before, is the outstanding sign of the confusion caused by conflict between British loyalty and desire for peace. Certainly U. S. popularity has not been lower in years. The reply of one "unpolitical" worker when I asked for his views on the crisis was not untypical: "I think we're beginning to understand that our real enemies are not the Russians but the Americans."

The Labour Party's greatest test is to convince the Britons that their real enemies are the Tories, and that most Americans crave peace as much as anybody else.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"If they veto us, use these."

Defeat on Suez

(Continued from Page 1)

Turning her back on Israel, Britain also asked Israel to hand over the Gaza Strip to the UN forces.

Israeli Foreign Minister Golda Meir asked Hammarskjold for information on "the proposed size, location and stationing arrangements" of the UN police force, before committing Israel on troop withdrawal. Hammarskjold in reply asked for a "clarification" of Israeli views, and added there must be no delay in "withdrawal of Israeli forces in compliance with the unqualified and unconditional demand of the General Assembly."

DEMAND FOR A DATE: Cairo charged Britain and France with attempting to consolidate their position in occupied territory. Egyptian Foreign Minister Fawzi said he would ask the UN to vote sanctions against Britain, France and Israel if they did not set a date for complete withdrawal. He denied Israel's charge that the government of President Nasser was persecuting the entire Jewish community in Egypt. On Dec. 3 it was reported that Israeli Premier Ben-Gurion had ordered Israeli forces to pull back 30 miles east of the Suez Canal.

With the E. European socialist states opposed, the UN last week agreed to bear the cost of maintaining the UN police force in Egypt. Moscow felt that Britain, France and Israel should shoulder this burden. Delegates, however, foresaw trouble when the Assembly began discussing Egypt's demand for reparations from Britain and France and the $40 million Hammarskjold has estimated as the cost of clearing the Suez Canal.

THE SYRIAN BORDER: UN circles last week also were worried about serious situations developing along the Syrian border that might grow "hotter than Suez."

For some time there have been reports of huge Soviet arms deliveries to Syria and massing of Syrian troops on the Israeli border. The Syrian government has categorically denied these reports and "responsible Western sources" in Damascus said "they had no information that would contradict" these denials (**N. Y. Times**, 11/30). Hammarskjold told the UN that truce supervisors found no unusual concentration of Syrian troops on the Israeli border.

Western delegates at the UN said Syria was moving closer to the Soviet Union, a situation which, in their view, was endangering Middle Eastern security by supplying Moscow "with another base of operations beside Egypt." Some delegates feared that both Israel and Baghdad Pact members Turkey and Iraq might strike first to prevent the alleged consolidation of Soviet influence in Syria. It was also felt that Britain—a member of the Baghdad Pact—would welcome the diverting of world attention from her attempt to maintain her foothold in Egypt. Syria maintained that the arms reports and the charges of Soviet influence were an elaborate smokescreen to provide an excuse for an attack by the Baghdad Pact states.

Certain events supported this view. Turkey's acting Foreign Minister Menderes flew to London last week to consult with British Foreign Minister Lloyd about Syria. This led to the speculation that Turkey and Iraq might not let the alleged Soviet penetration of Syria "proceed much further without taking action of some sort to stop it" (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, 11/30).

IRAQ IN TROUBLE: In Iraq, pro-British Premier Nuri es-Said was having trouble enough to tempt him to try a diversion that might at the same time fulfill his "long-standing dream of consolidating the northern Arab world under the hegemony of Iraq" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 11/28).

Opposition to Said's pro-Western policy and Iraq's membership in the Baghdad Pact has grown so strong that the government last week closed Parliament down for a month, arrested five political leaders and closed all schools and colleges indefinitely because of student demonstrations demanding withdrawal from the Western alliance. Said was also worried—as was London—by Jordan's recent decision to end its treaty of alliance with Britain.

It was felt that Iraq, with Turkey's help, might try to take over both Jordan and Syria, thereby creating "a belt of pro-Western lands beginning with Turkey in the north and extending south through Lebanon, Iraq, and Israel to the Arabian peninsula" (**CSM**, 11/28).

WASHINGTON WARNING: UN members were somewhat relieved when Washington, alarmed by the possibility of another Middle Eastern conflict, announced that it had found no unusual arms buildup in Syria and warned that it would view with "gravity" any military adventure involving its allies and Syria.

While UN attention remained focused largely on the Middle East and Hungary, statements made in the course of the General Assembly debate forecast more stormy sessions ahead. The South African government withdrew all but token representation in the UN to protest the placing of S. Africa's racial discrimination policies on the UN agenda. French Premier Mollet announced that his delegation would once again walk out if the Assembly took up Algeria. **K. G.**

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HARRY BRIDGES ON THE ELECTION AND THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

'Labor needs its own program and its own party'

Although the U. S. labor movement was more active in the recent election campaign than ever before, the results were scarcely gratifying to labor. Even the AFL-CIO *News, which could find "liberal victories" only on local levels, wrote in its Nov. 10 issue that "the 85th Congress will be a carbon copy of the 84th both in terms of party control and political outlook."* Labor's Daily, *an independent publication, declared in a "morning after" appraisal of the results that the "time may be nearer than we think" for the formation of a labor party. But so far the only top labor leader in the country to spell out the need for an independent political party of labor is Harry Bridges, president of the independent Int'l Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union. The following is excerpted from his column in the Nov. 9 issue of* The Dispatcher, *the union's official paper:*

By Harry Bridges

WELL, now that the election returns are in, isn't it about time that the working people of our country took a good look at a rigged political setup which still has all of us in a strait jacket?

It's a sad state of affairs when a country like ours has to go through a national election in which the millions in labor unions, the Negro people, the small farmers and the many decent, honest liberals have no real candidate of their own and no party which truly speaks for them.

Let's face it. If the only way the labor movement, the Negro people, and small business and professional people can find to fight the policies of the Republican party is to go all out for the Democratic party, then we're just about licked. We may as well give up the ghost and accept a few decades of Republican party rule of the United States.

THE OUTLOOK is surely sad if our hopes have to be pinned on the Democratic party. And the quicker we see this, the quicker we'll begin to break out of the political mess labor is in.

The so-called two-party system is really a political prison as far as the working people are concerned. Whether they travel with one party or with the other they know that they'll end up at the same dead end when it comes to matters and issues of concern to workers and their families. We ought to face the facts about these two parties in our country.

The Republicans are honest—you can give them credit for this much—and they make no claim to being a party to represent the interests or desires of workers. Yet many working people voted for Eisenhower, the Republican candidate. They didn't do this because they were stupid or misled—nor did they vote to endorse the Republican party. They voted for Eisenhower because they believed—on the record of his performance—that he stood for peace and a chance to have a job and continue to make a living. For these people the Democrats didn't offer enough to switch.

HARRY BRIDGES
Let's break out of the 'political prison'

WORKING PEOPLE want and need their own party and their own candidates. But the Democratic party is never going to fill this role in our political life, and the quicker we realize this the better off we'll be—and the sooner we'll be on our way to building an American labor party.

The point is not how many good people there are in the Democratic party; of course there are many—in fact, many more among the Democrats are friends of the labor movement than among the Republicans. But that doesn't alter the fact that the working people can't expect to play a real role in American political life so long as they're hogtied into the Democratic party. Nor, I believe, is there any real chance to change or rebuild the Democratic party from within.

What is the Democratic party and what is it based on? Well, the states Stevenson carried are certainly a good tipoff to the answer to this question. It's a party whose handful of electoral votes came from six southern states and from Missouri. There you have it. Six states controlled by anti-labor southerners and one state run by the corrupt Truman-Prendergast machine; they make up the hard core of the party in 1956.

THROUGHOUT the recent national campaign, in fact starting with the Democratic party convention in Chicago, the party's national leadership was so anxious to secure this southern base that every compromise was made to meet the demands of Eastland, Ellender, Johnston, Talmadge, and the rest of the southern crew. Well, the bargain was kept and the southern bloc, along with Truman, delivered on the line. Everything else was lost as far as the national ticket was concerned.

It's too easy to explain this result by personal popularity of Eisenhower, as the Democratic bigwigs are trying to do. The much more accurate explanation is the closer a local Democratic candidate was to the people, and the better he understood and reflected their wishes, the less was the liability of the Democratic national campaign with its compromises and double talk.

WORKING PEOPLE have to shake off all the slick political dealings which some labor leaders are now playing with. Each time such "deals" have meant compromising on labor's program and labor's interests to guarantee the victory of the Democrats.

It's just nonsense. Because the fact is that no political party which proceeds from a compromise to hold onto the corrupt political machine of the south can hope to win a national election in the United States today. It's just not in the cards.

Labor needs its own fighting program and its own party to carry this program forward. Anything less than this will continue the present two-party setup which is a political prison for the aspirations of the working people and the democracy of the nation.

Civil rights bloc

(Continued from Page 1)

thing about curbing the filibuster in the Senate?

"I'll tell you where they were. They were rushing around Chicago 'saving the party' and 'electing Adlai' by knifing a strong civil rights plank so that their dear Dixie fellow-delegates wouldn't get mad and walk out and ruin the party and Adlai, too. As we know, events of last Nov. 6 show that their kow-towing to the Southerners didn't do either Adlai or the Democratic Party any good."

GOP SENATE POSSIBLE: While the opening day filibuster battle was shaping up, Republicans clung to the hope that they might still control the Senate even though they are outnumbered 47 to 49. In Ohio Democratic Sen.-elect Frank J. Lausche has said that he will not take his Senate seat before the expiration of his term as Governor on Jan. 14. In New York Republican Sen.-elect Jacob Javits may stay on as State Attorney General until after Jan. 9. In Texas Democratic Sen. Price Daniel will become governor on Jan. 15; if he is forced to leave the Senate before that date, Gov. Allan Shivers might name a temporary appointee who would vote with the Republicans. Any one or a combination of these three situations could give the Republicans a voting edge when the Senate is organized.

LYNDON JOHNSON
Let the White House lead

President Eisenhower has invited the Congressional leaders of both parties to a December preview of his State of the Union message and legislative proposals for 1957. Republicans will go over domestic policies on Dec. 13 and the next day they will be joined by Democrats for a look at projected foreign policy.

CABINET CHANGES? Although the President rejected all Cabinet resignations which had been routinely submitted, it appeared likely there would be a large turnover of members. Secy. of State Dulles, elderly and ill, is not expected to last at his post much longer; speculation has pointed to retired Gen. Alfred Gruenther as his successor. Defense Secy. Wilson, Treasury Secy. Humphrey, Commerce Secy. Weeks, and Health, Education and Welfare Secy. Folsom all are expected to resign eventually. Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell is not expected to stay the full four years. Postmaster General Summerfield is seriously ill and may not return to Washington.

Although many Administration leaders would like to see Agriculture Secy. Benson go, he announced Nov. 13 that he has "no thought of leaving the Cabinet." He added that he didn't expect any new basic farm legislation from the new Congress. Secy. of Interior Fred Seaton and Labor Secy. James P. Mitchell are expected to stay on.

It was indicated that Harold E. Stassen would be retained as special adviser to the President on disarmament problems despite his pre-election move against Vice-President Nixon.

ONE-WAY PARTNERSHIP: A preview of the continuing battle over private versus public power that will be fought in the 85th Congress was given in mid-November at the 25th annual convention of the Natl. Reclamation Assn. in Salt Lake City. Interior Secy. Seaton there reaffirmed the Eisenhower "partnership" policy in the development of power resources; earlier he had declared that the election results would not change the Administration power program. The "partnership" concept was denounced at the convention by Rep. Wayne N. Aspinall (D-Colo.), chairman of the House subcommittee on Irrigation & Reclamation. To him it was a simple sell-out to private industry against the public interest.

At least one of President Eisenhower's recess appointments was in for a rough going-over in the next Congress. Sen. Olin Johnston (D-S.C.) of the Judiciary Committee, a strong segregationist, said of Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan Jr.:

"As a member of the committee, I would like to look into Mr. Brennan's background and check on some of his beliefs and disbeliefs with a fine-tooth comb before taking a stand on his nomination."

Justice Brennan is regarded by some as a moderate liberal on civil rights questions; he joined the Court in its recent ruling against bus segregation. Chairman Eastland of the Judiciary Committee to date has remained silent on the Brennan nomination.

CHATTANOOGA CHOICE: In his most recent appointment, President Eisenhower chose as Commissioner of Education a native Southerner, Dr. Lawrence Gridley Derthick, now Superintendent of Schools in Chattanooga, Tenn. Chattanooga is one of two school districts in the South that have announced that they will desegregate some day in the indefinite future. Dr. Derthick declined to state his personal views on desegregation, but the **N. Y. Times** reported that "he has confided to friends that he is very sensitive to the dangers and bitterness that an attempt at integration would arouse in many sections of the South."

The six Northern Senators favoring a Democratic Congressional program rather than wait for the President's proposals won the nominal backing of the Democratic Natl. Committee. On Nov. 27 that body voted to set up a 17-member advisory committee to "coordinate and advance efforts in behalf of Democratic programs and principles."

IT WILL BE LIVELY: Composed of prominent Democrats in and out of Congress, it would presumably try to influence legislation, a practice the Natl. Committee has shunned in the past. It was bound to meet determined resistance from old-guard Congressional leaders who do not like "outside interference" and the move could sharpen the apparent rift in Democratic ranks. Establishment of the advisory committee was backed by Philadelphia's David Lawrence and Chicago's Jacob Arvey. The resolution setting it up said:

"On the home front we believe the Democratic Party should exert itself to advance the well-being of all citizens through liberal and enlightened social progress.

"On the international front . . . we believe, with Adlai Stevenson, that the first order of business is to restore the Western alliance in a united effort to frustrate the new ambitions and aggressions of Communist Russia."

Whether or not any social progress, domestic or international, comes out of the 85th Congress, the coming session promises to be anything but dull.

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HOW TO BRING ORDER OUT OF CHAOS

Is there a Middle East solution?

By Kumar Goshal

Second of two articles

ORGANIZED PRIMARILY by European Jews and financed largely by the West, Israel has automatically allied itself with the West, neglecting to build a diplomatic base in Asia. Although in its attempts to surmount the monumental difficulties of its economic problems it has been obligated to adopt democratic and even socialistic methods at home, in its foreign policy it has gone along—willingly or not—with the policies of its big Western supporters. Arabs, swept by the tide of nationalism flooding all Asia, have identified Israel with Western imperialism.

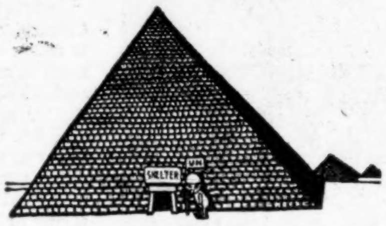
The West, knowing Israel's dependence on it for financial and military aid, has used Israel in its game of power politics. Instead of allowing Israelis and Arabs to settle their differences by themselves, Western powers assumed the role of arbiters and judiciously weighted the scales to remain as arbiters. For a time, the U.S. ignored Israel and catered to the more numerous Arabs and their oil-rich rulers, taking Israel's loyalty to the West for granted.

TORY ECHOES: Israel's Western orientation was glaringly evident in the invasion of the Sinai peninsula. Granted the almost unbearable provocations, it nevertheless seemed incredible that the Israeli government would plan an attack on Egypt not only in concert with Britain and France, but would actually accept French assistance in the invasion of Sinai itself. Premier Ben-Gurion's statement to Columbia Broadcasting System's Ed Murrow that "Arabs only understand force" sounded, to Asian ears, like the position of a die-hard British Tory. And Ambassador Abba Eban's attributing troubles in N. Africa to Nasser's machinations seemed too much like an attempt to curry favor with French imperialism.

Israel's own contribution to a just and lasting solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict would require it, in the words of Waldo Frank, to "prove that it is not a satellite of any colonizing or exploiting power and its independence also of world Jewry, which is dependent on these powers."

GO EAST: It must also take the initiative to cultivate the friendship of Asian powers other than the Arabs; this was begun auspiciously with Burma, and advanced by Moishe Sharett's recent trip to S-E Asia, although that attempt was badly damaged by the invasion of Egypt.

There was enough support in the UN to recognize the State of Israel after the Israelis in 1948 alone fought an Arab attack; but after Israel's war with Egypt in cooperation with Britain and France, Tel Aviv, as the CBS correspondent reported (11/23), had only one friend left in the whole world—the discredited government of France.



Escaro in Liberation, Paris

"You can come out, it's over now."

SOLUTIONS OFFERED: The Arab rulers must make their own contribution to a just solution of the conflict. They must realize the impossibility of forever diverting the discontent of their people against the Israelis rather than against the feudal rulers. Events during the war in Egypt indicate that the idea of nationalizing domestic resources and using the profits for their own betterment has taken hold in the minds of the ordinary Arabs. Feudal Arab rulers must come to terms with this popular sentiment, if they wish to retain some of their privileges a little longer.

Some solutions to the problems of the Middle East have been offered. U. S. Secy. of State Dulles has suggested a U.S.-UN guarantee of Israeli-Arab boundaries mutually agreed upon by the disputants, American aid for the Jordan River project and the resettling of Arab refugees. Harvey O'Connor has recommended a UN Petroleum Authority to make Middle East oil available to all, including the socialist nations.

RADICAL ANSWER: Jon Kimche (**The Nation, 8/25**), writing at the time of the London conference on Suez, proposed the immediate nationalization not only of the Suez Canal but of all the Middle East oil fields under a UN Middle Eastern Authority. This would ensure the free flow of oil and shipping and respect the sovereignty of the states concerned; and ensure that oil profits and canal revenue shall be devoted to social priorities, starting with the Aswan Dam.

Admitting that this was "a radical solution," Kimche insisted that the problem was no less radical, and that this plan would point the way to eventually assure the world community "access at fair prices to the vital raw materials of which, by accident of nature, certain regions have been granted a monopoly."

A modest beginning might be a call for scrapping the Western-sponsored Middle East military pacts and for Western treatment of Soviet claims in the region on the basis of equality. It would also involve reopening the Suez Canal on the basis of the Indian proposal, with necessary modifications to leave Egyptian sovereignty intact.

ROUND-TABLE: The UN might call a round-table conference of all countries, Middle Eastern (including Israel), Asian, European and African having a direct interest. The agenda would include not only the Israeli-Arab conflict but also the resettling of Arab refugees, reasonable modification of existing oil contracts to ensure impartial oil supply to all who need it at reasonable prices, and a plan to persuade the Arab rulers to devote a portion of oil royalties under UN auspices to the improvement of the Middle Eastern economy as a whole.

United Nations photo

THEY COULD BE FRIENDS

Arab soldier and Israeli soldier

Diplomacy and compromise would be the keynote of such a conference. Under the present tense situation, aggravated by the war in Egypt, it would be idle to expect long-range solutions of all Middle Eastern problems, or to attempt even a partial solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict except within a larger frame of reference. In the process of give and take, Egypt might be willing to sign a peace treaty with Israel in return for aid to build the Aswan Dam, channeled through the Special UN Fund For Economic Development. Other Arab countries might be persuaded to follow suit in return for economic and technical assistance for irrigation and other projects, also channeled through the UN.

The UN sponsored the birth of Israel, and it has been strongly criticized for neglecting to tie up the loose ends. The UN should have every opportunity to begin bringing order out of chaos in the Middle East. It would at least assure a relatively peaceful method of solving the problems of the Middle East. Certainly the recent events in both the East and the West have shown the futility of attempting by force to make friends of one's neighbors.

SOCIALIST REGIME A CASUALTY?

De Gaulle's name revived in French political mess

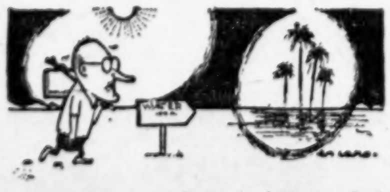
By Anne Bauer

Special to the Guardian

PARIS

THE PROGRESSIVE LEFT continues to search its way over and beyond the most painful crisis it has known. The Socialist Party experiences the keenest internal opposition it has seen in a long time. The right alone seems unperturbed in the midst of the general confusion of minds and ideas (its own ideas being too petrified and too few to get confused.) In such circumstances one major casualty may be the regime itself.

In the last few weeks, France installed a near-war economy, with some prime necessities slowly disappearing from circulation. The Frenchman's traditional political griping has changed from common sense action based on an understanding of the overall problems at stake, to the purely negative pastime of the a-political, the disillusioned and the cynic.



Escaro in Liberation, Paris

MOLLET'S MIRAGE

A MESSY RECORD: The most skilful of government propagandists cannot hide the degree to which France's domestic and international position has deteriorated. Few governments have been able to chalk up a more disastrous record. The Socialist administration has managed, in ten brief months, to:

- Aggravate the Algerian war and unsettle the friendly agreements previously concluded with Tunisia and Morocco.
- Lose the use of the Suez Canal and alienate world opinion at the UN.
- Shake French prestige throughout the Middle East while confirming Nasser's.
- Become even more dependent on U. S. economic aid (in dollars and gas) and utterly incapable, for the whole world to see of carrying out a foreign policy of its own.
- Bring on, with the fuel shortage, the first phase of an economic crisis that will almost inevitably begin a vicious circle of reduced production, shortage of goods leading to price increases, unemployment resulting in reduced buying power, and lower state income forcing an increase in the public debt.

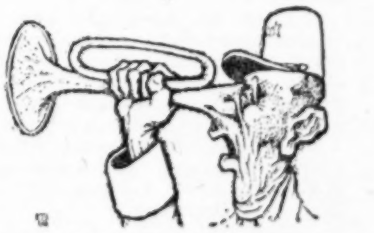
UNEASY SOCIALISTS: The Conservative right and the pro-Catholic MRP, so far among the government's most faithful supporters, have begun to voice their first, moderate criticism. But the clearest admission comes from the SP opposition itself.

Sharp attacks against the lack of socialism inside the government and the lack of democracy inside the SP were launched last week-end by a number of deputies and other prominent party members, including Daniel Mayer, Robert Verdier, Pivert and André Philip. A few days earlier, Philip, in a letter to the SP's Secretary General, enumerated his grievances against his party and his government in strong language. He drew these conclusions:

- "The Socialist government has failed. The Republican Front had promised peace in Algeria; instead it has brought us, with Suez, an additional war."
- "It is disastrous if a government calling itself a partisan of collective security destroys the very foundation of the UN and cares nothing about world opinion; if a government professing to be internationalist incurs the hostility of all the other Socialist parties of the world."
- "The Socialist Party reveals itself incapable of fulfilling its function of giving a discouraged people new hope."

DISTRUST OF POLITICS: The government's unfulfilled promises, half-successes and failures are numerous and flagrant enough for people to lose faith in socialism in government for a long time to come. But socialism is not the only victim. A broader and much more dangerous consequence will be the voters' disaffection, distrust and disgust of politics in general. To many, the regime itself stands discredited—"the system" which, according to De Gaulle, must be changed before anything valid can be undertaken.

Already, the name of De Gaulle reappears in the minds of certain political leaders and in the columns of some political editorialists. Francois Mauriac, for one, writes in last week's **Express:**



"Whose name haunts us if it is not that of the man who, at a time when the country was trampled upon and profaned by the presence of the enemy, upheld the old nation sovereign though captive, independent though slave, radiant in the midst of the worst disaster it ever suffered? De Gaulle!"

A POSSIBLE RESULT: A discredited regime brings to the surface the kind of incoherent and ignorant criticism that offers no remedy. The housewife has to line up to buy her salt and sugar and soap; the neighbourhood grocer has none to sell; the middle class car owner is forced by the government to pay an extra tax on a car he cannot drive for want of gas. These obvious ills and unnecessary injustices are food for the kind of gripers uninterested in politics and its causes and effects, but who think that a man of destiny and strong methods will be all that is needed to put everything right.

Dissatisfaction, unemployment, poverty and injustice—this is the stuff of which fascism is made.

Give This Paper
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THE REAL DISEASE IS POVERTY

Nasser and Egypt: What they really are

By Tabitha Petran

This is the last of three background articles mailed by Miss Petran from Cairo before her return.

CAIRO

SOME 30 KILOMETERS south of Cairo at Helwan the key project in Egypt's industrialization program—a steel plant with an initial 220,000-ton annual capacity—is under construction. Although a W. German firm is building it, most of the engineers are Egyptians trained in W. Germany. "I feel," said one, "that we are building something as important as the pyramids. Five thousand years ago they began history. Now we are beginning a new history for ourselves."

Tangible pride in a new-found independence is growing here from day to day. At Aswan, where a new dam and power plant are being erected (the granite used comes from the same quarries which supplied the stones for the pyramids), five Egyptian engineers are doing the work formerly done by 41 Frenchmen. The French quit without notice in September.

DO IT YOURSELF: A tired young Egyptian, now chief engineer, told us that labor productivity has increased since the French left—"Egyptians work better under Egyptian direction." But there was "one great difficulty" besides the shortage of technical personnel: "All the machines we use are French. We won't be able to get replacements we will need in a month or two. We are studying and preparing to make them in Egypt but we don't know if it will be possible."

At Aswan, as earlier at Suez, Egyptians discovered they could do the job as well as, and even better than, their ertswhile Western directors. Their growing sense of confidence is a major factor behind the government's present policy, which has evolved slowly under the pressure of international developments and of popular forces, however unorganized, at home.

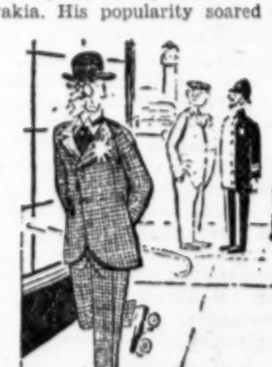
The 1952 Army coup which brought this government to power was, most people here believe, engineered with U.S. backing. Martial law, press censorship, prohibition of criticism, abolition of political parties (even though these had lost the respect of the people)—all these things, coupled with many concessions to foreign capital in an effort to attract investment, did not make the "government of colonels" particularly popular. However, its ouster of the king, a genuine campaign against corruption, and an avowed intention to oust British troops were welcomed.

THE TURNING POINT: In the regime's first years, "things were very tough for us," an Egyptian democrat told me. "The turning point came at the 1955 Bandung Conference. At the time, Egyptians did not fully understand the importance of Bandung and of President Nasser's role there. The people's attitude toward the government decisively changed when Nasser agreed to buy arms from Czechoslovakia. His popularity soared not because this was an agreement with a socialist country but because it showed the government was determined to follow an independent policy. The Suez nationalization followed, bringing Nasser universal support in Egypt and tremendous prestige throughout the Arab world."

United Nations photo

THE FAO HELPS EGYPTIAN VILLAGERS TO A BETTER LIFE

Home economist instructs women in preparing milk formula for infants



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Lord Churney put his Rolls-Royce in storage until the Mid-East oil pinch eases up."

Independence in foreign policy had repercussions at home. Martial law and the press censorship were ended; the Constitution was proclaimed; political prisoners, including progressives, were released from jail; and elections were scheduled.

Nasser's government is not fascist, communist or militarist, as it has been labeled. It is a government finding its way slowly, with decisive struggles over internal program and direction still to come. Nasser's sincerity is not questioned here, and his ability to learn and to move with events is conceded even by unfriendly critics. Aside from the land reform which has cleared the way for the development of capitalist agriculture, the government has a three-fold program: (1) build-up of the armed forces; (2) industrialization; (3) tackling the country's immense social problems.

THE REAL DISEASE: The enormity of the social problems is suggested by the fact that if health, educational and social services were doubled within the next 10 years, the country would, because of population growth, be just where it is today. And today these services are pitifully inadequate.

In a country barely 25% literate, only half the children of compulsory school age go to school, according to government statistics which are not necessarily reliable. In villages I visited around Cairo the figure was nearer 30%. The reason is shortage of schools and teachers despite construction of 400 schools a year for the past several years.

Tuberculosis ravages the poor of the cities and the fellaheen (peasants) suffer from a variety of other diseases. Although the number of TB hospital beds has been doubled since 1952, there are only 4,000 for some 500,000 known cases. Many never get near a doctor or clinic and are not diagnosed. A health worker told me: "We can't do much for these people. The real disease is poverty."

INDUSTRY LACKS PLAN: Until now the industrialization program, directed by the Permanent Council of Natl. Production, has been neither planned nor very extensive. "We rely on private enterprise as the backbone of industry," the Council's general secretary said recently. "The Council must approve industrial projects and decide if they are in the national interest. In cases of strategic industry, where it is difficult for private capital to go ahead on its own, the government undertakes a major share of the financing. But practically speaking we haven't reached the stage of planning for industry."

Since efforts to attract foreign investment have been largely unsuccessful, the main burden of supplying capital for industry has fallen on the government. So far it has sought to get capital through internal loans and by inducing Egyptian capitalists to invest. Traditional heavy investment of money in land is now restricted so capitalists will be more or less forced to invest in industry.

The recent creation of a Supreme Planning Commission, headed by Nasser, and of a committee to map a five-year plan for industry represents a new and, many believe, very important trend. Sharp political battles will almost certainly develop over the basic questions as to where the resources will be found for planned industrial development and over the extent of public ownership and control. Democratic forces are attempting to prepare for these battles now but, with political parties forbidden, the task is difficult.

THE "UNIT": The government's major attack on social problems is its program of "combined units" in rural areas. Rural Egypt has been divided into 800 areas, each embracing some 15,000 people and an average of 4.4 villages. In the next five years, a "combined unit" will be built in each area—100 are already operating and another 150 will soon begin operation. Each unit consists of school, medical clinic with hospital beds, library, agricultural cooperative which teaches new techniques and develops home industries such as date-packing and bee-keeping.

Although the "combined units" do not attempt basic solutions, they help alleviate the hard life of the fellaheen and can't fail to set in motion new currents in rural life. "The fellaheen used to be regarded like buffalo by the city people," a teacher at one unit said. "Now they are thought of as human beings."

This year the program has been slowed by diversion of funds to the military. For, in this crisis period, build-up of the armed forces has proceeded apace. Everywhere people can be seen training for the volunteer Liberation Army or the regular armed forces. The Liberation Army is to some extent a people's army and the government's claim that the Army is "a university with open doors to all classes of the people" is not without some basis. All soldiers are taught to read and write and are cured of disease.

NEW VOICE: Perhaps the most significant recent development on the political front is the appearance of the new afternoon paper **Al Massa**, edited by Major Khaled Mohieddin, progressive ex-member of the Revolutionary Command Council. **Al Massa** is pledged to work for civil rights within a democratic society; scientific economic planning; development of a national culture on a scientific and humanitarian basis; world peace and peaceful co-existence; Asian-African liberation movements; and Arab unity. It supports the government's foreign policy while criticising its domestic policy.

The paper was openly established as a rallying point for popular democratic forces which, it is hoped, will help push the regime toward greater political and economic democracy. Significantly, the paper is subsidized by the government. Its first week of publication was strikingly successful although several persons told me "the people would have liked it to be more left."

A letter from a seaman

The following letter appeared in the "Asahi Evening News" of Tokyo Aug. 21, 1956.

SINGAPORE

THE U. S. DEPT. OF DEFENSE has announced that thermonuclear tests for this year have ended. It is a matter for mutual congratulations, anyway. The ship on which I was went to New Caledonia, passed just outside the restricted area, during the initial stages of the tests, and returned to Tokyo at the end of May. A test of the white blood corpuscles of the crew members conducted following the ship's return showed that the leucocyte count of one deckhand, two quartermasters, two stewards and one engineer was about the 4,000 level, or several thousand counts lower than at the time of departure. They were told to disembark and take a rest if they were concerned about the drop. However, as they would have a hard time if they left the ship, all of them remained on the job with the exception of one quartermaster. The ship was placed on the hot Calcutta run from June until July. We are now on our way back to Osaka.

Of the crewmen suffering from a decrease in leucocyte count, the deckhand is tormented all the time with a cold. The other quartermaster is troubled with loose bowels. It is so serious that he had to be treated by the doctor who suspected dysentery. (His leucocyte count went below 4,000.) The engineer is extremely weak through loss of appetite. Only the two stewards don't complain of anything being wrong. This may be because the type of work they are doing doesn't entail much manual labor.

I do not know whether these ailments have any connection with the thermonuclear tests as there are no ways to check on it on our freighter. But, it is a fact that the only sick men on the ship are the five whose leucocyte count ranges around the 4,000 level.

Early in June, we found out that the Mizuho Maru, which followed our ship, had undergone an examination and that all crewmen whose leucocyte count was in the 4,000 level were put ashore and hospitalized. While thinking that such a measure was a good thing, I worried at the same time about the future livelihood of these men who will be receiving less pay. The Diet passed a resolution in favor of banning thermonuclear tests. I support this resolution. Because of the nature of my occupation, however, I will be forced to leave the ship and will be unemployed if I give up my practical support. I am writing this after the thermonuclear tests to point out the undesirable conditions that we seamen are exposed to. I pray that nuclear tests may be utilized for peaceful purposes only and that we seamen may be spared any worse sufferings than we have to endure at present.

Shosaburo Yamashina, Seaman.

Hungarian turmoil

(Continued from Page 1)

yanked out by agents of the Rákosi regime. On the other hand, his program, though as advanced as Nagy's, is failing to rally people as long as Soviet tanks patrol Budapest's streets.

Outside the stricken country the Hungarian fighting was having violent effects, but failing to stem the tide of "democratization."

Inside the Soviet Union there were reports of ferment with students hotly discussing Hungary and democracy. Its correspondent Alexandre Metaxas, the London **Times** says, has the advantage of being able to pass as a Russian. ("With a twist of forelock he achieves a lifelike semblance of Malenkov"). He told his paper: "The movement towards liberty is irrepressible. It started from Warsaw and from Budapest, but it may well reach Moscow before the other satellite capitals."

Metaxas said any repression there would encounter a gigantic "passive resistance. One must not believe in the easy theory of the return to power of the Stalinists: there are no more Stalinists in the U.S.S.R. They would have to be invented."

NO GOING BACK: The **New Statesman and Nation** reported that the current Soviet best seller, Vladimir Dudintsev's **Not By Bread Alone,** takes for its hero a man newly "rehabilitated" after years of imprisonment for bucking corruption. His point: socialism cannot be built without "the ethical values of fraternity, truth and no compromise with evil." The author, whose devotees are reported jamming "readers' conferences" all over the country, has his hero sombrely reflecting on the number of his enemies still in high office and even promoted.

Isaac Deutscher, biographer and critic of Stalin, also saw no return to the old days. He credited the present government with genuine intentions to liberalize the Soviet Union's relations with East Europe, relaxing the military and economic controls hitherto held necessary to safeguard the socialist world. He saw the original withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest and the vow to negotiate similar withdrawals elsewhere as the work of liberal forces in the top Soviet CP leadership triumphing over sterner forces in the military.

Nagy disappointed the liberals, he said, by being unable to steer a course along the path of Poland. He floundered and, as Deutscher says, "seemed destined to be replaced by an openly anti-communist government unless the Soviets intervened." Then the liberals were set back and the military took over. The liberals, said Deutscher, had no choice but to go along with the intervention since what was at stake was no longer Hungary but the position of the socialist forces in all Europe.

Yet even that setback, Deutscher said, could never lead to a crack-down and a return to the old days.

THE POLISH MODEL: Poland remained the model of the "new look" in socialism. Premier Wladislaw Gomulka returned

ACROSS A CHANNEL BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES, AUSTRIANS AND HUNGARIANS CHAT
More than 100,000 Hungarians have fled into Austria, and several hundred have already gone from there to the U. S. and Western Europe. Washington says th at 21,500 will be allowed into the U. S.

from Moscow with a fresh guarantee of sovereignty and some very profitable commercial deals. He was greeted by crowds who sang the Polish equivalent of "He's a jolly good fellow." Everywhere Poland seemed to be in exultant motion. Workers were organizing themselves into councils to run their factories. Painting, music, novels, journalism were flourishing critically and brightly. Correspondents were unanimous that the wintry air of Warsaw had a spring-like flavor. But none of this seemed to go to Gomulka's head. In a speech looking toward the Jan. 20 elections Gomulka said: "A free independent, sovereign Poland can only be a socialist Poland." Communists, he said, would cooperate with non-Marxist parties, but would not yield control to them.

He warned that among those celebrating the new freedom were those adhering to ex-Premier and Peasant Party leader Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, a bitter-end anti-socialist, now living in the U.S. For him, Gomulka made it plain, there was no future in Poland.

FRENCH CP HOLDS OUT: Gomulka had already won considerable control over Soviet military forces in Poland but he poured cold water on all campaigns for their removal by saying they were necessary to Poland, itself, as long as there were NATO bases in Europe and a revived Wehrmacht threatening the country's borders.

Meanwhile journalists delighted in ridiculing the former "economy of nonsense" run by bureaucrats according to majestic but unreal plans.

In Yugoslavia the government and CP felt themselves the targets of Communists in other countries who charged that their example and their interference had led to the bloodshed in Budapest.

The criticism came from the Soviet Union, whose papers used the harshest language on Titoism since the 20th Congress, and from France, where the CP is suspicious of both Yugoslav and Polish roads to socialism. **L'Humanite** has engaged in a running debate with Yugoslav and Polish papers, insisting that the Poles are wrong in saying that the Poznan riots were not the work of foreign agents, that Tito is wrong in saying the roots of the "cult of personality" lie in defects of the Soviet system.

L'Humanite has summed up the results of Soviet intervention: **"In Hungary** the essential fact is the complete victory of popular power."

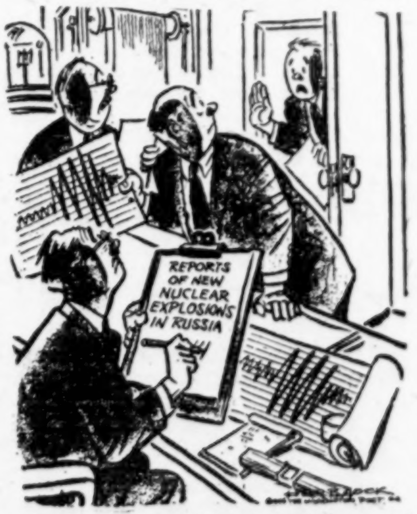
SHARP WITH ALBANIA: The Yugoslav daily **Borba** has declared that "not even the most brutal facts" have caused the French CP to rethink its position, that its leaders have neither "the will nor the strength" to make their own corrections.

However acrimonious, the Yugoslav-French debate was party-to-party and communist-to-communist. With Albania the exchange was on the cold basis of diplomatic notes. Albania executed three "Titoist" agents for spying "for an unnamed power"; one of them was a Yugoslav citizen. A curt Yugoslav note requested further details. Albanian Premier Enver Hoxha had earlier written an article for **Pravda** denouncing Yugoslavia's road to socialism. Belgrade's **Borba** commented acidly that "as soon as the Soviet comrades start a discussion the Albanian leaders start shooting."

OPEN REVOLT: In France while **L'Humanite** held firm, the intellectuals on the left were in open revolt. Pablo Picasso had joined with others to call for a CP conference where the whole story could be told, charging that **L'Humanite** had told less than that. Jean-Paul Sartre had led a number of sympathizers into outright opposition. Louis Aragon indicated that there were differences among the leaders of the National Writers Committee which canceled its annual book sale in order not to subject its supporters to possible popular hostility. Scientist Pierre Joliot-Curie was also reported denouncing the French and Soviet CP's for their attitude on Hungary. Martinique Deputy and poet Aime Cesaire resigned from the CP in a published blast against party leadership, though he based most of his criticism on the party's colonial policy.

L'Humanite scolded the dissidents or tenderly regretted their falling away but yielded not an inch in the storm.

In the UN Cuba, in the midst of bloodily crushing its own uprising, led the fight for a resolution demanding that Hungary admit observers. The UN had passed four such resolutions. Premier Kadar had turned the request down on the grounds that the rebels had clung to the hope: "Hold on, Americans are coming, UN troops are coming." If a UN team arrived, said Kadar, it might spur on the rebellion.


REPORTS OF NEW NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS IN RUSSIA

Herblock in Washington Post
"Hold it, men. That last one was Khrushchev again."

INCONSISTENCIES: Anna Kéthly, a Hungarian Social Democratic leader and member of Nagy's last cabinet, denounced Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America for having "gravely sinned by making the Hungarian people believe that Western military aid was coming when no such aid was planned." There were other reports of broadcasts promising parachute drops and arms deliveries.

In the U.S. refugees let in without quota restrictions were made the rallying point of a high pressure anti-communist campaign. Crusade for Freedom reshuffled its directors to include high officers of Standard Oil, General Motors and the First Natl. Bank, and prepared to make political hay.

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ON MIDDLE EAST

Goshal and Yaffe at E. Side Forum

KUMAR GOSHAL, Guardian world affairs editor, and Richard Yaffe, editor of **Israel Horizons,** spoke at the Lower East Side Guardian Forum Club on Nov. 28 on "The Crisis in the Middle East."

Yaffe described his recent trip to Israel and N. Africa, related the views of Israeli and Arab delegates to the UN where he is the correspondent for the Mapam newspaper, **Al Hamishmar.** He supported the UN resolution on withdrawal of troops from Egypt, called for Israel's neutrality in the East-West conflict. He said that Israel can live in peace and friendship with its neighbors only by granting full equality to the Arabs at home and by building a bi-national state.

Goshal noted the tide of nationalism sweeping the entire Middle East; he said he felt the Israeli-Arab conflict could be resolved only as part of an overall settlement of the basic economic and political problems of the Middle East.

A capacity audience of 100 participated in the lively discussion period.

The subject of the last session of the 1956 forum series will be the "165th Anniversary of the Bill of Rights." Speakers will be ECLC director Clark Forman and Simon Gerson, recently acquitted in a Smith Act trial. The date: Wednesday, Dec. 12, at 306 E. B'way, near Grand St., Manhattan.

Negroes elected to important offices

NEGROES whose shift from the Democrats helped reelect President Eisenhower voted solidly in state, county and municipal contests for Negro candidates regardless of party. Their aim was clear: to swell the ranks of civil rights advocates among officeholders. These were some of the more important elections:

Negro Californians helped return William B. Rumford of Berkeley and Augustus F. Hawkins of Los Angeles to the state House of Representatives. Illinois, in addition to reelecting U. S. Rep. William L. Dawson and Chicago Municipal Judge Henry C. Ferguson, both Democrats, sent to the state Legislature Democrats Charles F. Armstrong, James Y. Carter, Corneal A. Davis, Cecil A. Partee, Kenneth Wilson and Republicans J. Horace Gardner, Elwood Graham, Richard Harewood.

DIGGS REELECTED: Indiana Negroes chose Republican Robert L. Brokenburr over Democrat Dr. Ralph Hanley, also a Negro, for state senator; sent James S. Hunter of E. Chicago to the state House of Representatives for an eighth term, Jesse Dickinson of South Bend for a sixth, Edward "Doc" James of Gary for his frst. All are Democrats.

Kansas Negroes elected Dr. Eldred Brown (D.) to the state's lower house.

Boston's heavily Negro Ward 9 sent Massachusetts' first Negro Democrat, Lincoln G. Pope Jr., to its House. Republicans Lawrence L. Banks and Herbert L. Jackson were reelected.

Michigan, in addition to reelecting Charles C. Diggs Jr. to the U.S. House returned his father, Democrat Charles C. Diggs Sr., to the state House of Representatives, along with Democrats Edgar Currie, Fred Yates, Charlene White and Roger Townsend. Basil Brown went to the Michigan senate.

Missouri Negroes failed to elect Republican J. Redmond Jr. to the U. S. House seat held by Mrs. J. Sullivan, Democrat; but they sent to the legislature Democrats Leroy Tyus, James Troupe Sr., Henry E. Wheeler, all of St. Louis, and J. McKinley Neal of Kansas City.

AN OHIO JUDGE: Cleveland Negroes elected for a full term Common Pleas Judge Charles White to the seat he held temporarily by Gov. Lausche's appointment. They elected Democrat Zelma George of Cleveland and Republican A. Bruce McClure to the state legislature.

Philadelphia Democrats Sarah Anderson, Samuel Floyd, Herbert Holt, Granville Jones, Susie Monroe and David Shields were sent to the Pennsylvania legislature.

Republican Charles M. Stokes was elected to the Washington State legislature. In New York, Harlem's Rep. Adam Clayton Powell kept his U. S. House seat. Thomas Dickens was elected to General Sessions Court and Oliver D. Williams to Municipal Court. Democrats Bertram Baker, Mrs. Bessie Buchanan, Felipe Torres, Walter H. Gladwin and James C. Thomas went back to the state's lower house and James L. Watson to the Senate. Torres is Puerto Rican.

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CIVIL LIBERTIES: 1771 STYLE

Samuel Adams, organizer and propagandist for American democracy, had strong words against suppression of radical thought. Some are clearly expressed in excerpts from an article he wrote for the Boston Gazette, Aug. 19, 1771, reprinted below. For the "pretended patriots" and "intemperate politicians" of Adams' day substitute today's "reds," "pinks," "egg heads," "dreamy liberals" etc. and Adams' words still have great meaning. While it is interesting to note that fighters for democracy were equally defamed 185 years ago, it is heartening to remember during the week we celebrate Bill of Rights Day that the early Americans overcame the attacks and succeeded in establishing Jeffersonian democracy.

If the liberties of America are ever completely ruined, of which, in my opinion, there is now the utmost danger, it will in all probability be the consequence of a mistaken notion of prudence, which leads men to acquiesce in measures of the most destructive tendency for the sake of present ease. When designs are formed to raze the very foundation of a free government, those few who are to erect their grandeur and fortunes upon the general ruin will employ every art to soothe the devoted people into a state of indolence, inattention, and security, which is forever the forerunner of slavery.

They are alarmed at nothing so much as attempts to awaken the people to jealousy and watchfulness. And it has been an old game, played over and over again, to hold up the men who would rouse their fellow citizens and countrymen to a sense of their real danger and spirit them to the most zealous activity in the use of all proper means for the preservation of the public liberty, as "pretended patriots," "intemperate politicians," rash hot-headed men, incendiaries, wretched desperadoes, who, as was once said of the best of men, would turn the world upside down, or have done it already.

But he must have a small share of fortitude indeed, who is put out of countenance by hard speeches without sense and meaning, or affrighted from the path of duty by the rude language of Billingsgate. For my own part, I smile contemptuously at such unmanly efforts.

— SAMUEL ADAMS

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the SPECTATOR

Man of conscience

LONDON

WHILE EDEN & CO. were blitzing and invading Egypt, a British churchman came prominently into the news, raising in the sharpest way an issue which must increasingly haunt aggressor governments: the issue of the individual conscience faced with orders to commit crimes against international law.

From the first day of the attack, the Rev. Dr. Donald O. Soper in public meetings called on soldiers to refuse to fight, on workers to strike against war-material production and on railwaymen, dockers and sailors to see it was not transported.

DONALD O. SOPER

An all-out pacifist who was president of the Methodist Church in 1954 and still heads the Methodist Peace Fellowship, Soper has for 21 years run the largest single unit in his church, the West London Mission. The Mission operates a dozen hostels and other social service enterprises, and Soper speaks to several thousand people a week at open-air meetings and Sunday services. His unusual congregation has on many recent occasions followed him en masse out of church on demonstration processions through London's streets.

ON NOV. 4, 2,000 came to church to hear his call for Christian resistance to Eden's war. Most of them joined in the street procession afterwards, but in addition Soper addressed thousands of students who asked him to lead an "Eden Must Go" demonstration. He told the students he "had no intention of lecturing them and felt much more like asking their forgiveness for the sins of their elders," but would offer them "a few governing principles."

In the office over his church Soper talked to the GUARDIAN about these principles and where they have led him.

"This thing," he said, "is wrong in its guts. I am told we must proceed constitutionally and anything else sets a dangerous precedent for organized government. But a church that just bleats is no good. I am compelled to take a third position, that an enlightened conscience is sacrosanct and it's the only thing that is. I must personally refuse any participation or support, and must call upon my fellows for conscience's sake to do the same. And I must recall to my fellows that at the Nuremberg trials men were punished for the crime of refusing to mutiny. They were not exonerated for their crimes against international law and civilization by the fact that they were under order to commit the crimes.

"Some protest that calling on workers in industry not to cooperate is asking them to deprive their comrades of bullets to defend themselves. Rubbish! The army already has enough to last for a long time—enough time for us to stop the war and bring the soldiers home.

"My theology is simple. There is no double theology in the New Testament. Jesus did not tell one group to behave in this way and another in that way. We have got bogged down in silly twittering about evangelism while the world is going to the devil and we do nothing about it. We have gone soggy on evangelism."

SOPER SAID HE IMAGINED he was asking for trouble regardless of whether the Suez action is a "war" or not, but so far he had had nothing more than warnings from some friends, some heckling at open-air meetings and "a few people ringing up to cut my throat." He took the same position with regard to the Soviet military action in Hungary, and had written to the Home Secretary offering to feed, clothe and house 50 Hungarian refugees at the Mission "if we can get them." Politically, his opinion was that the only statesman showing real stature in the crisis was Nehru. As for himself:

"I am thin-skinned and I don't enjoy doing this in the least. I am not looking for a martyr's crown or to be arrested—just doing what I think is right."

The preacher with the irrepressible conscience said the people to whom he had spoken had shown almost unanimous support of his position, but he did not find in the British people as a whole such an overwhelming opposition to the war as he would have hoped. He felt there had been a steady deterioration of public conscience over many years, largely brought about by the "squalid lying" of the press which was "as verminous as anyone ever said it was." He had, however, been greatly heartened by the "uprush of conviction" among students—in Hungary as well as Britain. This was the more remarkable since the students "are already poisoned by the lies that are rising like a filthy mist over our affairs."

"May the students of this country prosper in their new-found zeal for peace," writes columnist Dr. Soper in the Bevanite weekly **Tribune**. "May we give them genuine leadership and unflagging support."

—Cedric Belfrage.

CALENDAR

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SAVE SAT. EVE, JAN. 26 to hear PROF. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN and see slides of his recent trip to U.S.S.R.

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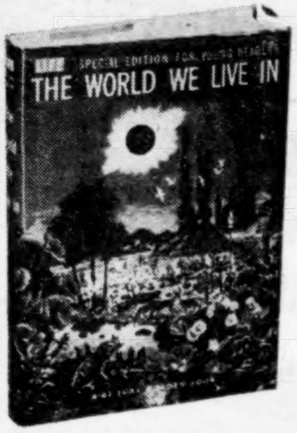

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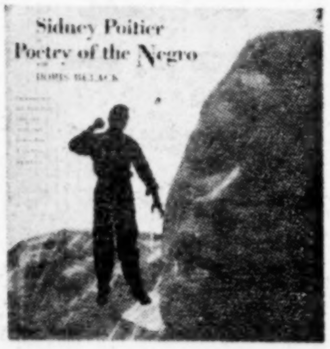

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